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An Editorial

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JUNE 17, 1957

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Washington Wire

Secret Investigation

THE KEFAUVER SUBCOMMITTEE sits right in the well of the modest hearing room. The reporters sit in the horseshoe of seats normally used by Senators, looking down. Kefauver's voice is mild, plodding, unemotional. The Idaho Power Company (headquarters: Augusta, Me.) was given the Hells Canyon site — largest single remaining unexploited power source in North America — by the Eisenhower Administration. Reason? Because the company would develop it "without expense to the United States." (Give your car to the dealer because the kind man won't charge you for gas and oil.)

But then Idaho Power quietly got a fast tax write-off subsidy from the Office of Defense Mobilization. The Treasury, in effect, gave the company a five-year, interest-free government loan.

("Utterly indefensible!" fumed Senator Harry Byrd (D, Va.). "A subsidy!" But everyone knows Byrd is a pinko.)

Government officials estimate this subsidy costs the Treasury $65 million (the price the government pays for borrowing the same money on the market). The dams which Idaho Power proposes to build will cost $103 million. And so Kefauver makes Point No. 1: The government is going to pay some 80 percent of the initial construction cost of the give-away.

Fantastic? Not at all, says Dr. Gordon Gray, suave head of the ODM which granted the subsidy. It is the regular policy of the Interior Department. Ploddingly Kefauver proceeds. As we explained here last week, Kefauver extracts the information that Gray all the time had in his pocket a letter from Interior Secretary Seaton *opposing* the tax giveaway for the very clear reason that it is deceiving the public. Kefauver's monotonous voice neither rises nor falls. He has made Point 2.

Now newly elected Senator John Carroll (D, Colo.) joins in. He is not a member of the Kefauver Subcommittee —just can't keep away. Fast tax writeoffs, he recalls, were invented for the Korean war emergency to stimulate construction of war-needed services. But restrictions were tight; even then they were based on a standard called "partial" mobilization.

Now the war is over. But to get Idaho Power under the line the tax write-off has been granted on a "full" mobilization basis. Why have restrictions been stretched, demands Carroll, a vigorous prosecutor with the wrath of God in his belly?

Why, repeats ODM general counsel Kendall lamely? He thinks the Administration made the switch on the basis of an estimate of "the danger of enemy attack." The small audience gasps. Carroll sinks back, almost incredulous.

No News and Good News

KEFAUVER plods on. He is just starting. His case is superbly prepared. Experts sit to right and left. The head of ODM's tax amortization branch, J. B. Wyckoff, now testifies that he called the Idaho people on April 18, or maybe April 17, to tell them the good news. No announcement to newspapers. Instantly Idaho Power stock boils on Wall Street. Insiders cash in. On April 16, 950 shares traded; on April 17, 4,300.

That noon as Wyckoff leaves the room he snippily tells a reporter for *The Wall Street Journal* that anybody could have got word of ODM's decision—all they had to do was telephone.

With the implacability of a timber wolf following a winded elk, Kefauver picks up that statement at the next hearing. Did Wyckoff make it? Yes. Kefauver puts James Farrell, Wyckoff's subordinate, on the stand. Also blonde, intelligent Sarah Hughes, secretary of the Electric Consumers Information Committee. On April 22, five days after Idaho got private word, Sarah Hughes, with two of her employers standing by, telephoned ODM, got Farrell, asked if the decision were made. "No," Farrell answered, she testifies.

The little audience waits breathlessly for the explosion. But Kefauver slowly puts the inevitable next question, quietly, no dramatics. "Why didn't you tell her the truth, Mr. Farrell?" he asks. Farrell squirms; Wyckoff flushes. Farrell says ODM hadn't put the news in its "Journal" yet. It wasn't official. Good enough for the beneficiaries but not for the taxpayers.

The Facts Seep Out

WELL, WHY IS TRB recalling this at such length? Because, dear reader, it is almost the only way you will hear about it! Most newspapers are skipping it, too busy with corruption in the Bakers' Union. But the facts are seeping out. America's secondary system of news coverage, which operates in emergencies like a kind of amateur radio network, is spreading the word. You will read it in trade union journals, in farm periodicals, in liberal weeklies, in the once-a-week organs. Also, in a few of the big newspapers like Old Faithful, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, the *Washington Post* and (fortunately enough) in part in *The Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*. The big radio breakthrough, as so frequently happens these days, comes in the broadcast of prize-winning Edward P. Morgan, sponsored by AFL-CIO. He put it on the air, coast-to-coast.

The White House is aware of the dangers of this "new Dixon-Yates": appeals by frightened subordinates have gone to Sherman Adams (who rallied the forces in Dixon Yates, you remember). The awkward thing is Seaton's recommendation. Why did he betray "The Team"?

As for the Democrats, they are slowly discovering there is political mileage here. But the Democrats are involved, too. They know a tough dragon when they see one. It is probably the biggest and scaliest monster the Treasury keeps —after old grandaddy Oil Depletion Allowance itself. It is an invisible dragon, almost impossible to make people see. One estimate is that 137 private power companies between 1951-57 got tax writeoffs to yield them $5 billion. For the last two years alone the cost to government was $778 million (at *your* expense, Reader, ha, ha)—Idaho Power is just one. So let's leave it to The Keef, and forget it. Amateur Galahads—stay away.

T.R.B.

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The New Republic

A JOURNAL OF OPINION

JUNE 17, 1957

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Correspondence

SIRS:

I SHOULD like to comment on Representative Stewart Udall's letter on "Eisenhower and Congress" which appeared in your June 3rd issue. According to Mr. Udall, Mr. Eisenhower's inability to seek a third term because of the 22nd Amendment has led already to a "struggle for succession" within the Republican Party. Perhaps this is so, but can this be said to have led to any serious impairment of the President's relations with Congress? I personally feel that the 22nd Amendment should be repealed, but even without its repeal President Eisenhower deservedly retains decisive influence within his party.

Mr. Udall quotes from one of my newsletters to substantiate his assertion that the President has demonstrated an "inability" to create a team feeling among rank and file Republican Con-

(Continued on page 23)

Still Some Doubts

WHEN the Congressional inquiry into nuclear bomb testing was recessed after hearing testimony of 33 scientists, there was unanimous agreement that bomb dust *does* give off harmful radiation and that in sufficient quantities, it can cause leukemia, cancer of the bone, premature death in the present generation and serious damage to future generations.

But the nub of the argument remains: is the present peril compensated for by the military need for further testing of nuclear weapons?

As to radiation peril, most Congressional witnesses challenged the optimistic publicity put out by the Atomic Energy Commission. Physicist Walter Selove said the relatively small amount of radiation from fallout to date would cause some 50,000 cases of leukemia or bone cancer. Biologist Edward Lewis said incidence of leukemia rises in direct proportion to the rise in radiation. Biochemist William Neuman said the earth's atmosphere might already be "very close to loaded" with the permissible level of strontium-90, the bomb particle which can cause bone cancer. Geneticist James Crow said "tens of thousands and perhaps more persons will be diseased or deformed, or will die prematurely, or be otherwise impaired as a consequence of fallout if the present rates of testing continue." Geneticist Hermann Muller put the number of lives impaired by tests already held "in the hundreds of thousands or millions."

On the other side of this policy equation—the importance of maintaining military tests—the Atomic Energy Commission was driven to issue its most detailed justification to date: "We are today in a period of radical transition in the weapons systems available," the AEC wrote the Congressional inquiry.

> . . . With the gains made by nations in delivery systems, the technical possibility of surprise attack against us has increased. This then is forcing a change in our defensive systems. We require new weapons of smaller size. . . . Each new weapon delivery system requires a new or modified warhead design. . . . Though there can be limited extrapolation of present information without testing, cessation of tests would, to all intents and purposes, end shortly our developmental work.

In plain English this says: the Russians are nearing success on the 1500-mile and 5000-mile missiles. We need counter-missiles of small size which can seek and destroy the long-range missiles in flight, just as old-fashioned, anti-aircraft shells knocked down planes. We don't have the delivery systems yet. And when we get them, we must also test new warheads, because this involves new flight conditions and new blast requirements.

Here the layman, if he concedes the need for adequate defense, finds himself stopped; for on the face of it, the Government makes an effective

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case for the continued testing of small nuclear devices, despite the perils of radiation. But carry this logic a step further. Does not our continued testing serve as justification for continued Russian testing? And if we both succeed in developing small weapons which destroy the deterrent, have we not set the world off on a reckless new round in the arms race? Is this not the rationale of those who believe our security can safely rest on a perpetual contest in arms?

Nothing in the foregoing AEC memorandum to the Congress justifies the position of the Eisenhower Administration that a limitation on bomb tests must await total disarmament. The report itself says:

> Cessation or interruption of testing is in itself a form of disarmament. Such a step should only be taken . . . when there are means in existence for assuring that other nations similarly will cease their testing, and hence their development of new systems.

Why then has this Government not taken the offensive by proposing to the Russians an immediate ban on all nuclear tests, inspected by fully instrumented international observation teams within the Soviet Union and the US? If the US has ever made such an offer, there is no public record of it. And so long as we seem to place our security solely in the arms race, the Russians are enabled to mobilize a world impression that it is the Americans who perpetuate the cycle of fear.

This is but a trial balance on a Congressional inquiry which has not yet issued its report. *The New Republic* is preparing a detailed analysis of the hearings, together with a listing of unanswered questions and obvious gaps in the public knowledge, which will be published two weeks hence.

The Congressional inquiry under Chairman Chet Holifield (D, Cal.) will, in the near future, check on available detection systems for international monitoring of tests and the radiation effects of particular nuclear weapons. Investigation of both subjects will contribute to a possible decision for a partial limitation of bomb tests.

The Congressional Committee is also expected—rightly in our opinion—to call for a speedup of governmental research on all aspects of radiation peril, a subject of particular anxiety as the greater vulnerability of children becomes more widely recognized. (See "Our Irradiated Children," page 9.)

One footnote: this journal was unduly optimistic when it editorialized on May 27: "We have at least passed the point, one must hope, when demands for the cessation of further nuclear weapons tests can be damned as 'Communist inspired.'"

President Eisenhower told the press on June 6 that the warning sounded by scientists about fallout "looks like almost an organized affair."

James Reston of the *New York Times* sought to pin the President down: "The comments here this morning, sir, about the fallout are, I think open to the inference that this is just an organized campaign . . ."

The President cut him short. "I didn't say that at all," the transcript reads. "I said there does seem to be some organization behind it. I didn't say a wicked organization."

And so the President, without mentioning the word Communist, put the hounds on the trail. The next morning Sen. James Eastland (D, Miss.) announced his Internal Security sub-committee would subpoena scientist Linus Pauling, who had circulated a petition against bomb testing, to determine if Communist influence was involved. Within a week at least four nationally known columnists were speculating that fears about radiation are Communist inspired.

History may well record that the President demeaned both himself and his office in resorting to innuendo to becloud one of the great moral issues of our time.

Light Up, Unlucky

THE American tobacco industry's one-sentence dismissal of the American Cancer Society's findings on cigarette smoking did not prevent American Tobacco Company stock from dropping almost seven points in 48 hours, but the reply was a masterly bit of evasive action. Said the industry: "The causes of heart disease and cancer are not yet known to medical science." And since they are not, "Have a *real* cigarette" (Camel), "Live Modern" (L&M), "Don't miss the *fun* of smoking" (Pall Mall).

But if your requirements for proof are less exacting than the industry's, you will want to weigh the circumstantial evidence offered in the Cancer Society's study of 11,870 deaths among 187,783 Americans between the ages of 50 and 70. Half of those studied over an average period of 44 months were smokers.

Those who smoke a pack or more a day will shorten their lives between seven and eight years, compared to

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

During the summer months, *The New Republic* will not appear for the weeks of July 8, July 22, August 5 and August 19.

non-smokers; habitual cigar smokers will lose three years of life; habitual pipe smokers only three months. The death rate among those who don't want to "miss the *fun*" (as against non-smokers) goes up in direct proportion to the number of cigarettes smoked each day. For half a-pack men, to illustrate, the death rate was up 33 percent; for those between a half pack and one pack, up 70 percent; above one pack but less than two packs a day, up 96 percent; and more than two packs, up 123 percent.

An inducement to quitting is offered by the evidence that men who had stopped smoking a pack a day 10 or more years before the study began had a lower death rate than those who never quit (but a 50 percent *higher* death rate than those who had never smoked at all). Half-pack-a-day smokers who swore off 10 years before the study had almost normal mortality rates. No appraisal was made of the value of filter tips, since they came into general use during the period of the Cancer Society's research.

While the US Public Health Service had no part in conducting this study, it had co-sponsored an earlier joint report with the American Cancer Society, issued last March, which concluded that,

> the smoking of tobacco, especially in the form of cigarettes, is an important health hazard [and there is] need for thorough consideration of appropriate control measures on the part of official and voluntary agencies.

But there are limits to the saving power of the community, when men are reluctant to be saved. Neither the Health Service nor the Food and Drug Administration has any present legal authority to regulate the tobacco industry, which last year sold 399 million cigarettes for a gross income of $46 billion. The Federal Trade Commission can intervene only where there is dishonest advertising, and although it may be nonsensical, is it dishonest to say "You get a lot to like" (Marlboro)?

However, there is nothing to stop public and private bodies from encouraging education, particularly in elementary and high schools, on the hazards of smoking. This is already being done by the governments of Britain, the Netherlands and Sweden. It is also possible for the National Institute of Health, in cooperation with the manufacturers, to speed up research aimed at isolating the life-shortening causative agent associated with cigarettes. Once that agent is identified, if it can be, the manufacture of innocuous cigarettes may be possible. Until then, the only American males who may take comfort from the Cancer Society's report are the 12 percent of cigarette smokers who have managed to quit.

Mr. Gallup could now do us a service if he would use his polling instruments to tell us how many American men presently go to bed at night swearing that they have had all the "fun" they want from smoking, only to awaken the next morning, swallow a cup of coffee, and reach guiltily for "that *natural* tobacco taste" (Hit Parade).

Disclose or Dismiss

IN a recent article in these pages, Prof. Harry Kalven suggested that the Supreme Court, by insisting on rigorous procedural regularity, could have an impact on the general area of trials for "political" offenses, almost, if not quite, as significant as if it had chosen to make a direct frontal assault. The latest illustration of his thesis is the Supreme Court's June 3 ruling on an appeal from the conviction of Clinton Jencks, a Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' official, for filing a false non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act. Two witnesses, J. W. Ford and Harvey Matusow, testified as undercover FBI agents and members of the Communist Party. They said they had seen Jencks at Party meetings and engaging in Party activities both before and at the time he filed his affidavit. (Matusow later recanted his testimony.)

In the course of their evidence, each of the witnesses testified that he had made contemporaneous oral or written reports to the FBI concerning each of the meetings which Jencks allegedly attended. Counsel for Jencks demanded that these reports be submitted to the trial judge who could review them to see, first, whether they contained any material useful to Jencks' defense, and second whether the release of the material would be justified considering the confidential character of the reports. The trial judge refused this demand.

In a far-reaching opinion written by Justice Brennan, the Supreme Court has held this refusal was wrong and remanded the case for a new trial. All eight justices who participated (Justice Whitaker did not sit) seemed to agree that under the particular circumstances here involved, the delivery of the reports to the trial judge, as requested by the defendant, would have been justified. A majority of the court went further than this, however, and insisted that, under these circumstances, the reports must be delivered directly to the defendant's attorney without the intervening screening by the trial judge. The government must either surrender the documents, or if it deems the interests of secrecy significant enough, drop the prosecution.

The decision illustrates neatly the principle of the

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separation of powers in operation, a principle which has been much illuminated by controversies over the disclosure of executive documents either to Congress or the courts. Here the judiciary restates the elementary principle of fairness that the government, which is responsible for justice being done as much as are the courts, may not withhold evidence which might impeach the witnesses upon whom the government relies. The Court makes no overt demand on the executive or seeks to impose its will upon the prosecutor. It says simply, the choice is yours: disclose or dismiss.

Who's In Contempt?

IN our opinion, Senator McClellan (D, Ark.) is in contempt of the constitution. For the constitution says that *no* citizen (that applies to the guilty as well as to the innocent) "shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." And long ago, the Supreme Court interpreted this to mean that no public force may be used to compel a man to furnish information which might be used against him, either directly or as a lead to other incriminating evidence.

When the Senator says, "I do not believe that the Fifth Amendment was intended as a shield and a protection for criminals," what he clearly infers is that the only people who should have the right to plead the Fifth are those Senator McClellan has decided are innocent. Further, by his frivolous and repetitious questioning of Dave Beck, Jr., the Senator uses his privileged position to deride the amendment itself. A new kind of "numbers racket" is thus brought into being, and highly respected newspapers play along: DAVE JR. USES IT 130 TIMES IN 40 MINUTES AT SENATE HEARING, said the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. BECK'S SON PLEADS 5TH 124 TIMES, headlined the *New York Herald Tribune*. BECK JR. INVOKES THE 5TH 100 TIMES; FACES A CITATION, was the *New York Times*' front-page head. BECK'S SON TAKES '5TH' 127 TIMES AT HEARING was the four-column banner in the *Washington Evening Star*.

Admittedly, headline writers are seldom constitutional lawyers. But ignorance does not excuse ex-prosecuting attorney John McClellan. After Dave Beck, Jr. had been on the witness stand five minutes, the Senator knew how the record would read. Why then go through the motions? Not because any information was expected to come from the witness that would help Congress to legislate more wisely on matters relating to labor. And not because the monotonous recitation of "I decline to answer . . . " would establish grounds for possible criminal prosecution.

No, the purpose was what Martin Dies years ago called "pitiless publicity"; to convict before the bar of public opinion without the inconveniences of due process. For how easy it is to ridicule a man who will not even admit to knowing his father. And yet, Senator McClellan is not unaware of the prevailing legal doctrine which says that if a witness once embarks on a line of inquiry, he cannot subsequently refuse to answer any derivative questions relating to the same subject. And the "related subject" in this instance was surely any financial transactions of Dave Beck, Sr. The son's silence was perfectly legitimate self-protection against being led into answers which could tend to incriminate him.

The Beck hearings, Sr. and Jr., dramatize again the old, fundamental Congressional misconception: that Congress may arrogate to itself functions which are either judicial (the determination of who is a "criminal") or educational (using the power of subpoena to inform the public).

Congress must, of course, have wide latitude in its investigative role: it must know what goes on in order to know whether legislation is needed, and if so, what kind. But when Senators stage a sadistic ritual that calls forth the claim of privilege 144 times from a single witness, it is the Congress which is in contempt, not the witness.

Population Goes Up

DURING the decade 1930-1940, world population increased at an average of about 24 million people a year; from 1946 to 1955, the annual increase amounted to about 35 million. And during the last five years, the average rate of increase has been 120,000 a day, or 43 million a year. Our authority for these remarkable statistics is the 1956 Demographic Yearbook of the United Nations, just published.

In three illuminating charts, the Yearbook compares birth rates, death rates and the rates of population growth for 80 countries for the years 1945-1949 with the rates for 1950-1954. More than half the countries showed a higher rate of population growth during the latter period, the increase tending to be highest in those countries which already were growing most rapidly.

Falling death rates is the major reason for the speed-up in the rate of population growth: in 77 of the 80 countries included in the UN study the death-rate declined, and many of the declines were by as much as a fifth or a third. About 50 of the 80 countries showed birth-rate increases, and many of them were due to more accurate registration rather than to any actual increase in fertility.

This analysis of current demographic trends is not encouraging. For the greatest surges in population growth rate are occurring in precisely those heavily populated countries which are endeavoring to break through from feudal, agrarian cultures to industrial cultures. The rapid rate of population increase in these

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areas tends to outrun economic and agricultural gains.

In essence, the tremendous progress in public health and preventive medicine—one of the greatest achievements of modern times—is presenting us with a new problem, one we scarcely recognize as yet. People are living longer, and unless fertility can be brought into line with lower mortality, there is serious danger that the modern dream of better health and greater abundance for all will turn into a nightmare. The prospect of growing hordes of hungry, discontented people is not a happy one. Yet it is a reality in Egypt today. And it is a major factor in the instability of other troubled lands.

Huge sums of money have been spent to develop new and more effective death-deferring and disease-controlling techniques. These new death-fighting tools have been democratized through intensive worldwide educational campaigns sponsored by government and private agencies. But no steps have been taken to democratize either the need for or a means of keeping fertility in line with declining mortality. It is this failure to see both sides of the demographic coin that is creating a population crisis throughout the world.

Honest Adjustment

QUITE the boldest declaration ever issued by a Southern church group comes from the 97th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, US, which met in Birmingham recently—almost within sight and sound of the bombing of a Negro church and a Negro labor leader's home. These Presbyterian leaders from 16 states explicitly denounced the KKK and the White Citizens Council, saying it is unthinkable for a Christian either to "gain its point by intimidation, reprisal and violence" or to fail to "lift a voice of protest against those who appeal to prejudice and spread fear."

The Presbyterian Church, US, is a product of the intersectional bitterness which rose so high a century ago. Southern Presbyterians set up their own jurisdiction in 1860. This separateness has lasted through the years, but, except in a formal sense, it has grown more and more tenuous. Ministers have been called from outside the South. Religious publications of nationwide circulation have made their impression, and Southern Presby-

"I do want to say this..."

SOMEONE in Washington—quite possibly a reporter who has attended too many Presidential press conferences—recently composed a satire which deserves a wider audience. The author titled his work: "The Gettysburg Address as Written by Dwight David Eisenhower," and, with a few slight alterations made by us, it runs as follows:

I haven't checked these figures but 87 years ago, I think it was, a number of individuals organized a governmental set-up here in this country, I believe it covered certain Eastern areas, with this idea they were following up based on a sort of national independence arrangement and the program that every individual is just as good as every other individual. Well, now, of course, we are dealing with this big difference of opinion, you might almost call it a civil disturbance, although I don't like to appear to take sides or name any individuals, and the point is naturally to check up, by actual experience in the field, to see whether any governmental set-up with a basis like the one I was mentioning has any validity and find out whether that dedication by those early individuals will pay off in lasting values and things of that kind.

Well, here we are, at the scene where one of these disturbances between different sides got going. We want to pay our tribute to those loved ones, those departed individuals who made the supreme sacrifice here on the basis of their opinions about how this thing ought to be handled. And I would say this. It is absolutely in order to do this.

But if you look at the over-all picture of this, we can't pay any tribute—we can't sanctify this area, you might say—we can't hallow according to whatever individuals creeds or faiths or sort of religious outlooks are involved about this very particular area. It was those individuals themselves, including the enlisted men, very brave individuals, who have given this religious character to the area. The way I see it, the rest of the world will not remember any statements issued here but it will never forget how these men put their shoulders to the wheel and carried out this idea.

Now frankly, our job, the living individuals' job here, is to pick up the burden they made these big efforts here for. It is our job to get on with the assignment—and from these deceased fine individuals to take extra inspiration for the same theories for which they made such a big contribution. We have to make up our minds right here and now, as I see it, that they didn't put out all that blood, perspiration and—well—that they didn't just make a dry run here, and that all of us here, under God, that is, the God of our choice, shall beef up this idea about freedom and liberty and those kind of arrangements, and that government of all individuals, by all individuals and for the individuals, shall not pass out of the world-picture.

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terians are affiliated with the progressive National Council of Churches. The Supreme Court having decided for school integration, these Presbyterians do not hesitate to affirm that the law of the land is against segregation, although they realize that there is work to be done for "an honest and durable adjustment" in every community. They go even further. To them, housing comes within the purview of their responsibility, the plight of the aging is a major consideration, just as the right to vote, the right of dissent, the right to work without a color bar, are also matters which go to the heart of Christian solicitude. If "where the spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom," those who profess to live by the spirit must reject tyranny, whatever guise it wears.

The General Assembly is the highest court of the Southern Presbyterian Church. Though its statement on race relations or any other social problem is not necessarily binding on presbyteries down the line, not to mention local churches, the moral impact of this effort to apply a Christian concept of freedom in the South of today will not be lost on Presbyterians or on members of other denominations.

Socialist Compromise

EVER since the postwar Labour Government launched the Welfare State in Britain thoughtful Socialists have been concerned about the rigid uniformity with which its benefits are distributed. Although the general standard of human welfare in Britain is incomparably higher than before the war, there is still a larger number of individuals in real suffering because for one reason or another their needs are unmet under regulations which had to be drawn for the abstract statistical average. The main obstacle to reforms which would introduce the necessary flexibility into existing laws is the doctrinaire egalitarianism into which the Labour Party's passion for social justice sometimes freezes. Now for the first time the Labour leaders have made a great breach in this wall of traditional prejudice. Their new plan for national retirement pensions accepts differentials in income and payments as its starting point.

The present situation is as follows. Of the eight million retired persons in Britain a million receive National Assistance grants in addition to their Old Age Pension because they cannot survive on the pension alone; it is believed that another million would qualify for National Assistance grants if they were not too proud to apply for it. At the other end of the scale a third of the working population contributes to private retirement schemes which give them a substantial increment to their Old Age Pension. But very few of these private pension plans are transferable. If a man changes his job he is liable to lose all his benefits. Besides the hardship this causes the individual, it is a serious obstacle to the mobility of labor, one of Britain's most urgent needs.

The Labour Party now proposes to remedy the situation by establishing a compulsory national retirement scheme for all who are not already covered privately. Broadly speaking, this will provide all men and women with a retirement pension slightly above half their average wage during a full working life. In return, the workers will contribute to a national fund three percent of their wages for 40 years, the employers an additional five percent, and the state itself two percent of the gross national wage bill. The state contribution will make possible a minimum retirement pension of £3 ($8.40) a week—50 percent more than it is at present. Benefits for those who enter the scheme too late to contribute the full 40 years will be reduced accordingly—subject to the £3 minimum. And, an ingenious system has been devised by which the level of the final retirement pension will be adjusted to counter the effects of inflation by being related to real wages, not money wages.

There is nothing specifically Socialist about these proposals. President Eisenhower has introduced a similar proposal in the US, and the closest parallel is a scheme introduced by Chancellor Adenauer this year in Western Germany. Indeed, the principle of tying differential benefits to differential contributions is a sharp break with the old Socialist tradition of financing social welfare out of general taxation. None the less, there is so far no sign of serious opposition to this principle either in the Labour Party or the Trade Unions.

The Labour scheme has been well received throughout the country. Some actuaries have argued that the immediate increase proposed in the minimum pension will throw an unfair burden on future generations of workers. But so far, German experience suggests that the main result will be simply to transfer some purchasing power from working people to the pensioners.

The best tribute to the Labour proposals is that the Conservative Government is now working desperately to produce a similar scheme of its own before the next election. Iain MacLeod, its main expert on social policy, has made a flying visit to Germany to brief himself on Adenauer's old age pension plan. The Conservative plan will probably concentrate on making private pension benefits transferable and increasing their number so that a state scheme is unnecessary. Thus, the fundamental division between the British parties may be reproduced in this new field as in others. But it is profoundly encouraging that both parties are now prepared to address themselves to the problems of the present day instead of fighting on issues which have long ceased to exist.

DENIS HEALEY

London

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Our Irradiated Children

by JACK SCHUBERT and RALPH LAPP

NO MOTHER would knowingly increase the chances that her child might eventually develop cancer, leukemia, bone disturbances, or inability to produce healthy offspring. Yet the sober facts are that thousands of infants and children in the United States are needlessly exposed to more radiation in one year than would be allowed atomic energy workers in a lifetime!

Where do these needless excessive radiation exposures to children take place? The answer is simple: usually in the privacy of the physician's office or in the hospital. How long has this situation existed? The answer: at least since 1907, when irradiation was first used to treat an enlarged thymus in an infant. Has the overuse of radiation to children decreased since the 1940's when information on radiation hazards became universal? Here again the answer is simple but unbelievable: excessive radiation dosages to children have *increased* as shown by surveys of radiation practices made in earlier years and up to the time of this writing.

There are at least three important reasons for the exceptionally hazardous nature of radiation exposure to young, growing persons: (1) their tissues are generally more responsive to radiation effects than are those of adults; (2) their long life expectancy means that the damage of a delayed radiation-induced injury is far more important than it would be in the case of one whose advanced age makes what may happen in 20 years a matter of academic interest only; and (3) the accumulation of radiation doses to the reproductive organs of children means that the chances of passing on hereditary defects to their descendants are enhanced.

It has been estimated both by Dr. Stanley H. Clark, medical physicist at the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital in Los Angeles, and by the United States Public Health Service, that 25 million diagnostic X-rays are given per year, excluding those in mass chest surveys, and of these 5 million are fluoroscopic. Of these 5 million, about 1.5 million are of people in the 0-to-30-year age group. Further, of the 4 million *treatments* using X-rays which are made in one year, one million are for non-malignant disorders such as warts, skin conditions, infections, enlargement of the tonsils, and many others.

In order to get perspective on the magnitude of the radiation doses given some children, let us take as a guide the recommendations made by the eminent Committee on Genetic Effects of Atomic Radiation in their report issued in 1956 by the National Academy of Sciences:

> This report recommends that the general public of the United States be protected, by whatever controls may be necessary, from receiving a total reproductive lifetime dose (conception to age 30) of more than 10 roentgens of man-made radiation to the reproductive cells. Of this reasonable (not harmless, but reasonable) quota of 10 roentgens over and beyond the inevitable background of radiation from natural causes, we are now using on the average some 3 or 4 roentgens for medical X-rays. This is roughly the same as the unavoidable dose received from background radiation. It is really very surprising and disturbing to realize that this figure is so large, and clearly it is prudent to examine this situation carefully. It is folly to incur any X-ray exposure to the gonads which can be avoided without impairing medical service or progress. . . .

Leukemia is a rare disease in which uncontrolled overproduction of the white blood cells occurs. It is invariably fatal but may run its course over several years. It may be induced in animals by exposure to a large dose of radiation or small repeated doses over periods of months or years. In the group that was 0 to 19 years of age at Hiroshima, 21 cases of leukemia were found by the end of 1954—9 years after the dropping of the bomb. These were children who were exposed to radiation within 1,500 meters of the center of the explosion, which

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means that they received dosages of 300 r or more. Not more than two cases of leukemia would have been expected in an unexposed Japanese population of the same age and numbers. Leukemia has been observed in children who were exposed to X-rays in infancy during treatments for enlargement of their thymus glands. The connection between X-rays used to irradiate the thymus and the increase in leukemia which results has been clearly pointed out in the reports of the National Research Council issued in 1956.

Several cases of cancer of the thyroid have been reported among children years after they had been given X-ray treatment around the neck for non-malignant conditions such as enlarged tonsils, suspected enlargement of the thymus gland, adenoids, bronchitis, "enlarged glands in the neck," deafness, and many other disorders. Many of the children were less than two years of age when they received radiation. The first indications that there might be a connection between cancer of the thyroid and irradiation of the neck were reported at Memorial Hospital in New York by Doctors Duffy and Fitzgerald in 1950. They found that most of their patients with this disease had received irradiation to the thymus some time between the fourth and sixteenth month of life.

On the average it took seven years after the irradiation for the thyroid cancer to appear. Studies reported by Dr. Dwight E. Clark of the University of Chicago have confirmed the increased incidence of thyroid cancer from a study of many more cases. As little as 200 r seems to have produced cancer; this is a far smaller dose of radiation than had ever before been observed to produce a cancer in human beings.

X-RAY AND THYROID CANCER

Is cancer of the thyroid increasing? Dr. Clark marshals evidence to show that it is indeed increasing rapidly:

> Although it is still a relatively uncommon condition, the number of cases diagnosed is becoming more frequent. . . . From 1900 through 1930 only eight cases of carcinoma of the thyroid in individuals under 15 years of age were reported . . . from 1931 to 1940, 34 cases . . . from 1941 to 1950, 50 cases. . . . The recent increase is so large, . . . it must represent a true increase.
>
> The increasing incidence of carcinoma of the thyroid in children and adolescents seems to correlate with the greater use of X-ray for benign conditions about the head, neck and upper thorax.

Studies are still continuing in order to pin down the correlation between thyroid cancer and prior radiation. The British Medical Council has reported cases of cancer of the pharynx and larynx in patients who have had X-ray treatments around the neck for benign conditions such as tuberculous glands. In some cases the cancers did not develop until more than 30 years after the radiation, and there was an over-all average of 20 years.

A similar hazard arises from use of the radium applicator, a mechanical device which holds a small quantity of radium salt. The applicator is designed for insertion into the body cavities or application on the skin whenever radiation treatment of a selected region is desired. One type, of which at least 2,000 are in use in the United States and Canada, is designed for the treatment, usually in children, of excessive nasopharyngeal lymphoid tissue. The dosage in roentgen equivalents delivered by the device was directly measured by the physicist Dr. C. B. Braestrup of the Department of Hospitals in New York City, who found that during the usual course of treatment the applicator delivered as much as 20,000 r to the surface of the tissue and from several hundred to several thousand roentgens deep within the tissue! Patients received repeated treatments, some at yearly intervals.

RADIUM RACKET

We must point out that treatments by radium applicator are so profitable that in some cases financial, rather than medical, considerations may suggest its use. Read what a nose-and-throat specialist, with an active practice, Dr. K. Day of Pittsburgh, wrote in 1950:

> Over two million dollars have been invested by the medical profession in radium applicators. . . . The applicators can now be rented for one or two days a month, when they can be used successively on an office full of patients and can become a lucrative source of income to the user. . . . The use of radium applicators in the nasopharynx has definitely reached the racket level. . . . It has apparently become the custom to use them for the treatment of symptoms rather than pathologic conditions and, too frequently, the nasopharynx is not even examined before irradiation. . . .

Radiation treatment for skin conditions, begun within a year after roentgen's discovery, creates a special hazard in the case of children. In their widely respected book *Therapeutic Radiology*, Doctors Holmes and Schulz say this about the use of radiation for treatment of non-malignant skin conditions:

> In the treatment of benign cutaneous lesions . . . no matter how annoying they are, the fact should be borne in mind that roentgen rays can have a permanent deleterious effect on all tissues, and the possible consequences of treatment, particulary if overdone, must carefully be weighed against the benefit to be expected. *It has been said that the skill of the dermatologist varies indirectly with the frequency with which he uses X-rays in the control of benign dermatologic*

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diseases [Italics ours]. . . .This agent should never be used in the ordinary dermatologic conditions until all other means of control have been exhausted. . . .

As with other cases the effects of skin damage from radiation may not show up for 10 or 15 years.

Remember that other effects may follow later, including leukemia or skin cancer. Yet these treatments are still given. However, whether more or fewer people are being treated can be revealed only by a comprehensive survey. We do know that at least a million cases of radiation treatment for benign conditions are carried out yearly in the United States alone.

The radiation striking the patient is not always localized, so that many organs other than those under treatment also receive radiation. The radiosensitivity of the blood has already been described. The bone, in general, is quite resistant to radiation damage. It appears that doses of about 3,000 r are needed to induce bone cancer. However, young growing bone is much more sensitive to growth interference, and this is especially true of the very active growing ends. Extreme care must be taken in the amount of radiation given to children for dental examinations. It is possible that repeated dental X-rays to children may so damage the tissues of the gums that serious after-effects may be expected to develop in their adult teeth.

THE UNBORN CHILD

THE younger the child, the greater is the sensitivity to radiation. This brings us to a very important question:

What is the biological and medical evidence for radiation damage to the unborn child? It aids in our understanding to examine evidence in cases where very heavy radiation doses were given to the abdominal regions of pregnant women for cancer therapy. Here the relationship between the irradiation and the result is obvious. Of many examples, we cite the 1929 report of Dr. L. Goldstein and Dr. D. P. Murphy. Out of 75 children born to the heavily irradiated mothers, 38 showed some obvious degree of malformation. Sixteen were microcephalic idiots—a condition resulting from a partial failure of the development of the brain, so that as a result the head is smaller than that of a normal baby. Ordinarily only one such idiot is born in 10,000 births. Studies of children who had been irradiated *in utero* during the atomic bombings in Japan also showed an increased incidence of abnormalities.

A survey is now under way in England to study the case histories of mothers and children in which the children died from malignancy before the age of 10 during the period from 1950 to 1953. With one-third of some 1,500 cases already investigated Dr. Alice Stewart and her associates conclude that: "The present investigation suggests that besides causing genetic damage, this apparently harmless examination [X-ray] may occasionally cause leukemia or cancer in the unborn child."

These British findings need to be extended, but if they are confirmed it means that roentgen dosages to the fetus are much more damaging than previously thought, and a higher degree of precaution is mandatory in antenatal X-ray examination of women. Our concepts of "safe" dosages of X-rays will have to be revised so far as the X-ray diagnoses of pregnant women are concerned.

Until now we have mainly examined some of the effects on blood, skin and bone to children who were given radiation for treatment of benign conditions. The most inexcusable situation, however, is the giving of excess doses of radiation to children simply in the course of routine examinations or for a trivial and unnecessary item like shoe-fitting.

According to United States Public Health reports, there are approximately 10,000 X-ray shoe-fitting machines in use in the United States. Obviously it is important to know precisely the radiation doses received by the children as well as by clerks and other persons in the vicinity.

Careful measurements of the radiation dosage delivered by X-ray shoe-fitting machines were reported in Boston in 1949 by Charles R. Williams, an industrial safety expert. He found that dosages to the foot ranged from 0.5 r to 5.8 r per *second*. For a 22-second exposure, which is commonly used, the feet receive from 10 to 116 r! Remember too, that one child may have his feet examined many times while trying on different shoes. Similar dosage measurements have been reported by the United States Public Health service, which states that the *average* dosages to the children's feet are between 7 r and 14 r per exposure.

The use of these machines cannot be condemned too strongly, and it is a measure of the ineffectiveness of regulations and an amazing laxness or ignorance that the use of the machines has not been outlawed everywhere. It is encouraging that some states, such as Pennsylvania, have banned them.

THE HAZARD OF FLUOROSCOPES

THE use of diagnostic X-rays in pediatric practice presents a very disturbing picture. Let us start the story with the report of H. M. Parker, physicist now in charge of radiation safety at the Hanford atomic energy works, and Dr. Franz Buschke, radiologist, of Seattle. In 1941 they presented a joint paper on "Possible Hazards of Repeated Fluoroscopies in Infants." They pointed out that some pediatricians give monthly fluoroscopy to

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infants the first six months of life, and that some continue through the first and second years. The potential hazard of fluoroscopic examination to infants is very high, particularly in view of the large dosage delivered. This hazard is increased because "even many specialized radiologists do not know the actual output per minute of their diagnostic machine."

In order to check the potential hazards, Buschke and Parker measured the actual amount of radiation delivered during fluoroscopic examination of infants. They investigated seven machines selected at random and used in offices of reputable pediatricians. Not all the seven pediatricians did routine or even regular repeated fluoroscopies, but Buschke and Parker found that all seven had one thing in common—none of them knew how many roentgens their machines were delivering!

Here are the facts: The *average dose* given by all the machines was 25 r per minute. Assuming that the average rapid fluoroscopy by an experienced examiner takes about 20 seconds, this means an average of 8.3 r, or 100 r in the first year of life (if routine monthly fluoroscopies are done). However, Buschke and Parker state that "we know from experience that some of the fluoroscopies last considerably longer. . . ." They found one machine delivered radiation at the rate of 200 r a minute—a dose rate high enough to cause death from radiation within a month following a 10-minute continuous exposure.

It was further mentioned by Buschke and Parker that even though the measured doses decrease in passing through the infant's body, the most endangered organs such as the ovaries, testicles, spine and extremities in infants are quite close to the radiations.

It is often very difficult or impossible to pin down damage due to radiation. In reference to doctors who point to pictures and records of all the healthy babies which were under their care as proof that radiation is harmless, Buschke and Parker wrote:

> The appearance of a baby does not say anything about the future development of the child. Since we do not expect mainly gross variations but more a general but immeasurable deterioration in those who will be born, the normal appearance of a baby and even of an adult is meaningless.

Buschke and Parker's paper was published in 1942. Did it have any effect on the overuse of fluoroscopy? A survey has recently been made by Doctors Vallaer and Zavon of the College of Medicine of the University of Cincinnati. Writing in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* for October, 1956, Dr. Zavon gave a preview of their findings: "What is most disquieting is that the situation described in 1955 is virtually unchanged from that described by Buschke and Parker in 1942."

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

IF YOU are a parent or expect to be one, you may by now be asking yourself what you can do to prevent having your children, born or unborn, exposed to unnecessary and perhaps harmful radiation. There *are* cautionary procedures which you can follow to minimize the hazards of radiodiagnosis and radiotherapy.

You may be somewhat embarrassed about examining your doctor on his knowledge of radiation, but it is well to remember that the risks involved in continuous exposure before the fluoroscopic screen are much greater than from an ordinary X-ray photo, and to find out first of all which form of irradiation is to be used. Our advice is to follow these few rules:

Rule Number One: Ask your doctor whether he is going to take X-ray photos. If he says, "No," and uses an X-ray machine, he is using fluoroscopy. In that case it may be well to pause and consider.

Rule Number Two: If you suspect that you are pregnant, tell the doctor that you wish to have the routine X-ray examination postponed.

Rule Number Three: If you know that you are pregnant, do not allow any X-rays unless they are quite localized, as to an extremity, or unless there is preferential shielding of the womb or unless the condition is so critical as to warrant the calculated risk.

Rule Number Four: If it is necessary for you or your children to undergo radiotherapy, ask if the condition being treated is malignant. If it is non-malignant, ask the doctor about alternative modes of treatment.

Rule Number Five: Tell the doctor that you are keeping a personal radiation diary for yourself and your family. . . . Ask him to give you in writing a summary of the X-ray or radium treatment, including a specification of the roentgen dosage, the area treated, and an estimate of the dosage to the gonads.

Let us conclude with the sage advice of Dr. R. W. Miller of Rochester.

> X-ray irradiation is atomic energy. By its overuse in pediatrics a child's tolerance for this physical agent may be dissipated. The child of today faces a life of repeated exposures to atomic energy. Even if he does not become an aviator exposed to the elevated cosmic ray dosage of high altitudes, or a worker in industry where X-rays or radioactive power are employed, or a hospital or laboratory worker exposed to X-ray machine emanations and radioisotopes, he is still apt to be a soldier or civilian involved in an area of radioisotopes contamination, or a patient who needs diagnostic fluoroscopy or X-ray therapy. With the possibility that atomic energy will be so frequently encountered in the life of the immediate future, it would seem advisable to limit elective [pediatric roentgen] procedures as much as possible.

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Behind his courageous refusal to inform lies a certain amount of moral and political confusion

Arthur Miller's Conscience

by **RICHARD H. ROVERE**

"I WILL PROTECT my sense of myself," Arthur Miller told the House Committee on Un-American Activities when he refused to identify some writers who had once been Communists. "I could not use the name of another person and bring trouble on him." The refusal brought Miller a conviction for contempt of Congress from a judge who found his motives "commendable" but his action legally indefensible.

A writer's sense of himself is to be projected as well as protected. It becomes, through publication and production, a rather public affair. For this and other reasons, it is fitting that what Miller saw as the testing of his integrity—the challenge to his sense of himself—was a question involving not himself but others. Of himself, he had talked freely, not to say garrulously. He chatted, almost gaily, about his views in the Thirties, his views in the Forties, his views in the Fifties, about Ezra Pound and Elia Kazan and other notables, about the Smith Act and Congressional investigations and all manner of things. When he was asked why he wrote "so morbidly, so sadly," he responded patiently and courteously, rather as if it were the "question period" following a paid lecture to a ladies club. His self-esteem was offended only when he was asked to identify others.

Thus, one might say, it was really a social or political ethic that he was defending, while of his sense of himself he gave freely. In legal terms, this might be a quibble, for there is no reason why a man should not have a right to his own definition of self-respect. In a literary sense, it is not a quibble, for Miller is a writer of a particular sort, and it was in character for him to see things this way. He is, basically, a political, or "socially conscious" writer. He is a distinguished survivor of the Thirties, and his values derive mostly from that decade. He is not much of a hand at exploring or exploiting his own consciousness. He is not inward. He writes at times with what may be a matchless power in the American theatre today, but not with a style of his own, and those who see his plays can leave them with little or no sense of the author as a character. He is not, in fact, much concerned with individuality of any sort. This is not an adverse judgment; it is a distinction, or an attempt at one. What interests Miller and what he can often convey with force is the crushing impact of society upon its members. His human beings are always on the anvil, awaiting the hammer, and the act that landed him in his present trouble was an attempt to shield two or three of them from the blow. (It was, of course, a symbolic act, a gesture, for Miller knew very well that the committee knew all about the men he was asked to identify. He could not really shield; he could only assert the shielding principle.) What he was protecting was, in any case, a self-esteem that rested upon a social rule or principle or ethic.

One could almost say that Miller's sense of himself *is* the principle that holds "informing" to be the ultimate in human wickedness. It is certainly a recurrent theme in his writing. In *The Crucible*, his play about the Salem witchcraft trials, his own case is so strikingly paralleled as to lend color—though doubtless not truth—to the view that his performance in Washington was a case of life paying art the sincere flattery of imitation. To save his life, John Proctor, the hero, makes a compromise with the truth. He confesses, falsely, to having trafficked with Satan. "Did you see the Devil?" the prosecutor asks him. "I did," Proctor says. He recognizes the character of his act, but this affects him little. "Good, then—it is evil, and I do it," he says to his wife, who is shocked. He has reasoned that a few more years on earth are worth this betrayal of his sense of himself. (It is not to be concluded that Proctor's concession to the mad conformity of the time parallels Miller's testimony, for Proctor had never in fact seen the devil, whereas Miller had in fact seen Communists.) The prosecutor will not let him off with mere self-incrimination. He wants names; the names of those Proctor has seen with the Devil. Proctor refuses; does not balk at a self-serving lie, but a self-serving lie that involves others will not cross

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his lips. "I speak my own sins," he says, either metaphorically or hypocritically, since the sins in question are a fiction. "I cannot judge another. I have no tongue for it." He is hanged, a martyr.

In his latest play, *A View from the Bridge,* Miller returns to the theme, this time with immense wrath. He holds that conscience—indeed humanity itself—is put to the final test when a man is asked to "inform." Eddie, a longshoreman in the grip of a terrible passion for his teen-age niece, receives generous amounts of love and sympathy from those around him until his monstrous desire goads him into tipping off the Immigration officers to the illegal presence in his home of a pair of aliens. His lust for the child has had dreadful consequences for the girl herself, for the youth she wishes to marry, and for Eddie's wife. It has destroyed Eddie's sense of himself and made a brute of him. Yet up to the moment he "informs" he gets the therapy of affection and understanding from those he has hurt the most. But once he turns in the aliens, he is lost; he crosses the last threshold of iniquity. "In the garbage can he belongs," his wife says. "Nobody is gonna talk to him again if he lives to a hundred."

A View from the Bridge is not a very lucid play, and it may be that in it Miller, for all of his wrath, takes a somewhat less simple view of the problem of the informer than he does in *The Crucible.* There is a closing scene in which he appears to be saying that even this terrible transgression may be understood and dealt with in terms other than those employed by Murder, Incorporated. I think, though, that the basic principle for which Miller speaks is far commoner in Eddie's and our world than it could have been in John Proctor's. The morality that supports it is post-Darwinian. It is more available to those not bound by the Christian view of the soul's infinite preciousness or of the body as a temple than it could have been to pre-Darwinian society. Today, in most Western countries, ethics derive mainly from society and almost all values are social. What we do to and with ourselves is thought to be our own affair and thus not, in most circumstances, a matter that involves morality at all. People will be found to say that suicide, for a man or woman with few obligations to others, should not be judged harshly, while the old sanctions on murder remain. Masochism is in one moral category, sadism in another. Masturbation receives a tolerance that fornication does not quite receive. A man's person and his "sense of himself" are disposable assets, provided he chooses to see them that way; sin is only possible when we involve others. Thus, Arthur Miller's John Proctor was a modern man when, after lying about his relations with the Devil, he said, "God in heaven, what is John Proctor, what is John Proctor? I think it is honest, I think so. I am no saint." It is doubtful if anyone in the 17th Century could have spoken that way. The real John Proctor surely thought he had an immortal soul, and if he had used the word "honest" at all, it would not have been in the sophisticated way in which Miller had him use it. He might have weakened sufficiently to lie about himself and the Devil, but he would surely not have said it was "honest" to do so or reasoned that it didn't really matter because he was only a speck of dust. He was speaking for the social ethic which is Arthur Miller's—and he resisted just where Miller did, at "informing."

It is, I think, useful to look rather closely at Miller's social ethic and at what he has been saying about the problems of conscience, for circumstances have conspired to make him the leading symbol of the militant, risk-taking conscience in this period. I do not wish to quarrel with the whole of his morality, for much of it I share—as do, I suppose, most people who have not found it possible to accept any of the revealed religions. Moreover, I believe, as Judge McLaughlin did, that the action Miller took before the committee was a courageous one. Nevertheless, I think that behind the action and behind Miller's defense of it there is a certain amount of moral and political confusion. If I am right, then we ought to set about examining it, lest conscience and political morality come to be seen entirely in terms of "naming names"—a simplification which the House Un-American Activities Committee seems eager to foist upon us and which Miller, too, evidently accepts.

A healthy conscience, Miller seems to be saying, can stand anything but "informing." On the one hand, this seems a meager view of conscience. On the other, it makes little political sense and not a great deal of moral sense. Not all "informing" is bad, and not all of it is despised by the people who invariably speak of it as despicable. The question of guilt is relevant. My wife and I, for example, instruct our children not to tattle on one another. I am fairly certain, though, that if either of us saw a hit-and-run driver knock over a child or even a dog, we would, if we could, take down the man's license number and turn him in to the police. Even in the case of children, we have found it necessary to modify the rule so that we may be quickly advised if anyone is in serious danger of hurting himself or another. (The *social* principle again.) Proctor, I think, was not stating a fact when he said, "I cannot judge another"—nor was Miller when he said substantially the same thing. For the decision *not* to inform involves judging others. "They think to go like saints," Proctor said of those he claimed he could not judge, and Miller must have had something of the sort in mind about the writers he refused to discuss. He reasoned, no doubt, that their impulses were noble and that they had sought to do good in the world. We refuse to inform, I believe, either when we decide that those whose names we are asked to reveal are guilty of no wrong or when we perceive that what they have done is no worse than what we ourselves have

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often done. Wherever their offenses are clearly worse—as in the case of a hit-and-run driver or a spy or a thief—we drop the ban.

If the position taken by Miller were in all cases right, then it would seem wise to supplement the Fifth Amendment with one holding that no man could be required to incriminate another. If this were done, the whole machinery of law enforcement would collapse; it would be simply impossible to determine the facts about a crime. Of course, Congressional committees are not courts, and it might be held that such a rule would be useful in their proceedings. It would be useful only if we wished to destroy the investigative power. For we live, after all, in a community, in the midst of other people, and all of our problems—certainly all of those with which Congress has a legitimate concern—involve others. It is rarely possible to conduct a serious inquiry of any sort without talking about other people and without running the risk of saying something that would hurt them. We can honor the conscience that says "I speak my own sins. I cannot judge another," but those of us who accept any principle of social organization and certainly those of us who believe that our present social order, whatever changes it may stand in need of, is worth preserving cannot make a universal principle of refusing to inform. If any agency of the community is authorized to undertake a serious investigation of any of our common problems, then the identities of others—*names*—are of great importance. What would be the point of investigating, say, industrial espionage if the labor spies subpoenaed refused to identify their employers? What would be the point of investigating the Dixon-Yates contract if it were impossible to learn the identity of the businessmen and government officials involved?

THE joker, the source of much present confusion, lies in the matter of *seriousness*. Miller and his attorneys have argued that the names of the writers Miller had known were not relevant to the legislation on passports the Committee was supposed to be studying. This would certainly seem to be the case, and one may regret that Judge McLaughlin did not accept this argument and acquit Miller on the strength of it. Nevertheless, the argument really fudges the central issue, which is that the Committee wasn't really investigating passport abuses at all when it called Miller before it. It was only pretending to do so. The rambling talk of its members with Miller was basically frivolous, and the Un-American Activities Committee has almost always lacked seriousness. In this case, as Mary McCarthy has pointed out, the most that it wanted from Miller was to have him agree to its procedure of testing the good faith of witnesses by their willingness to produce names. It was on this that Miller was morally justified in his refusal.

Still, Miller's principle, the social ethic he was defending, cannot be made a universal rule or a political right. For it is one thing to say in *The New Republic* that a committee is frivolous or mischievous and another to assert before the law that such a judgment gives a witness the right to stand mute without being held in contempt. As matters stand today, Miller was plainly in contempt. At one point in *The Crucible*, John Proctor is called upon to justify his failure to attend the church of the Reverend Mr. Parris and to have his children baptized by that divine. He replies that he disapproves of the clergyman. "I see no light of God in that man," he says. "That is not for you to decide," he is told. "The man is ordained, therefore the light of God is in him." And this, of course, is the way the world is. In a free society, any one of us may arrive at and freely express a judgment about the competence of duly constituted authority. But in an orderly society, no one of us can expect the protection of the law whenever we decide that a particular authority is unworthy of our cooperation. We may stand by the decision, and we may seek the law's protection, but we cannot expect it as a matter of right. There are many courses of action that may have a sanction in morality and none whatever in law.

Yet the law is intended to be, among other things, a codification of morality, and we cannot be pleased with the thought that a man should be penalized for an act of conscience—even when his conscience may seem not as fully informed by reason as it ought to be. In a much more serious matter, war, we excuse from participation those who say their consciences will permit them no part in it. One of the reasons the order of American society seems worth preserving is that it allows, on the whole, a free play to the individual's moral judgments. In recent years, Congressional committees have posed the largest single threat to this freedom. The issues have often been confused by the bad faith of witnesses on the one hand and committee members on the other. Still and all, the problem is a real one, as the Miller case shows. If there is not sufficient latitude for conscience in the law, then there ought to be. It would be unrealistic, I think, simply to permit anyone who chooses to withhold whatever information he chooses. The Fifth Amendment seems to go as far as is generally justified in this direction. Changes in committee procedures have often been urged, but it is doubtful if much clarification of a problem such as this can be written into rules and by-laws. The problem is essentially one of discretion and measurement; it is, in other words, the most difficult sort of problem and one of the kind that has, customarily, been dealt with by the establishment of broad and morally informed judicial doctrines. It is surely to be hoped that in the several cases, including Arthur Miller's, now in one stage or another of review, the courts will find a way of setting forth a realistic and workable charter for the modern conscience.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

American Philosophy: A Requiem

by Robert E. Fitch

The hand of the Lord was upon me, and set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones: and, behold, there were very many in the open valley; and, lo, they were very dry. And he said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord God, thou knowest.
Ezekiel 37:1-3 (abridged)

ONE of the most depressing books to be published recently is *American Philosophers at Work*, a symposium with twenty-nine contributors, edited by Sidney Hook. There is nothing wrong with the editor or with the editing; nor may we question the representative character of the samples. It is just that this book demonstrates what many of us have suspected for a long time, namely, that the enterprise of philosophy in the United States in this year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-seven is dead.

American Philosophers at Work, edited by Sidney Hook (Horizon; $7.50).

It might be more accurate, though less charitable, to say not that the philosophic enterprise is dead but simply that it is dying. The evidence for its moribund condition lies in section II of this symposium on "Metaphysics and Theory of Knowledge" and in section III on "Ethics and Social Philosophy." The cause of the slow death is exemplified in section I on "Logic and Scientific Method." The most vital activity in this body of death is precisely the malady that devours it. The chief symptom of that malady is a preoccupation with a kind of auto-vivisection known as "analysis."

For what philosophy has to offer us today is a new scholasticism based not on theology but on science. And the new scholasticism is just as sterile as the old. In the medieval, or in the modern instance, the movement of thought begins with a healthy extraverted attention to God, or to Nature. But at the last it turns in on itself in hopeless introversion until, in the phrase of Francis Bacon, its professors are "tumbled up and down in their own reason and conceits." "For," said Bacon in the same context

> . . . the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter . . . worketh according to the stuff and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning.

The fact is, there is a deep sickness which infects the soul of modern man. Among the rationalists its name is positivism. Among the romantics its name is existentialism. Both are afraid of life. Both—for all the meticulous analyses of the positivists—are afraid of reason. Both—for all the caterwauling and attitudinizing of the existentialists—are afraid of emotion. Neither one has a belief, a hope, a love to lend significance to our career as pilgrim or as picaro. In the end neither one can hold in affection or in faith even itself.

If this judgment seems drastic, at least it is not uttered without respectable authority. For some years American philosophy has been in the posture of the poet John Donne in his last days, contemplating his own casket and preparing his own funeral sermon. More than once at meetings of the American Philosophical Association I have heard it announced that philosophy has now developed to the point where it can abolish itself. That this end was to be reached by a spiritual transformation is suggested by the occasion when I heard Hans Reichenbach, at an afternoon tea, quietly and casually announce that his study of scientific method was now so far advanced as to be of no more use to the scientist. At such a moment, surely, the scientific philosopher joins company with the angelic host.

One of the unmistakable tokens of the approaching demise has been the appearance among philosophers of what may be called death-bed religion. Mind you, I do not say fox-hole religion. This sort of philosophy disdains all such craven superstition. It has, moreover, never been anywhere near any fox-hole of the battlefield variety. But its professors, nowadays, do put forth weirdly secular soteriologies, in remote paraphrase of Bertrand Russell's *A Free Man's Worship*, and in a kind of oblique "return to religion." As for the substance of these schemes of salvation, they are remindful of Shelley's notes on his *Queen Mab* in which, after casting out God and the Bible, he brings in vegetarianism as the new savior, and assures us that it is not Christ but a carrot that shall redeem man from his ills.

HOWEVER, the conclusive proof of the feebleness of contemporary American philosophy is the fact that this symposium embraces no one like a Dewey or a Whitehead, whose thought has a wide-ranging and fruitful impact on the whole of our culture. Moreover, it excludes the two persons whose influence on the American mind today is most challenging and tremendous—Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich. Of these two persons it is enough to say that Niebuhr has the most powerful skeptical intellect in the country today in the field of social philosophy and analysis, while Tillich has the most disciplined, most catholic, and most audacious intellect in metaphysical speculation.

Why are they excluded? It is obvious that Niebuhr neglects the essential-formal logic, epistemology, philosophy of science. All he knows about is man and, within the limits of a devout agnosticism, God. Tillich is better able to meet the secular standards: he wrestles with methodology as well as constructs an ontology, and probes for the meanings of literature, art, psychoanalysis, and socialism. But the reason for the exclusion of Niebuhr and of Tillich from this symposium is clear. They may be the most brilliant and provocative minds on the American scene today. But they are not really philosophers. They are, after all, theologians. And while one professional theologian has been allowed a brief essay on God, it would hardly do to have the over-shadowing

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presence of these two giants in a volume dedicated to celebrating the industrious antics of pygmies.

When, after 20 years of teaching philosophy, I was, as I like to say, promoted to become a theologian, it was perhaps a deep instinct that made me turn from death to life. Having had the privilege of studying under John Dewey, and having been in Los Angeles during those few magic years when both Bertrand Russell and Hans Reichenbach held forth at the fortnightly meetings of the Metaphysical Society, I think I may say that I knew philosophy when it was very much alive. But the disciples have not kept the vigor of the masters. And so at last, having heard for too long great argument about it, and having found that evermore I came out by the same door where in I went, I bethought myself not to darken that door again.

A MORE discriminating judgment, to be sure, might detect some vital sparks in the corpus of Hook's symposium. Paul Weiss, for instance, indicates that he means to break away from the prepossession with analysis and to attempt some larger view. Herbert Schneider, F. S. C. Northrop, Horace Kallen have certainly given attention to the broader concerns of our living together. Abraham Kaplan shows originality in his discussion of "Obscenity as an Esthetic Category." And Donald Williams, in "The Myth of Passage," bewitches where he does not convince, because, rather than deaden us with linguistic analysis, he uses language with a freshness and a flexibility that yields aesthetic as well as intellectual satisfaction. But there are other papers, like Charles Stevenson's on "Persuasive Definitions," which suggest that philosophers are just now making a startled discovery for the first time of their humanity, but are resolved to be redeemed from it with the aid of reason.

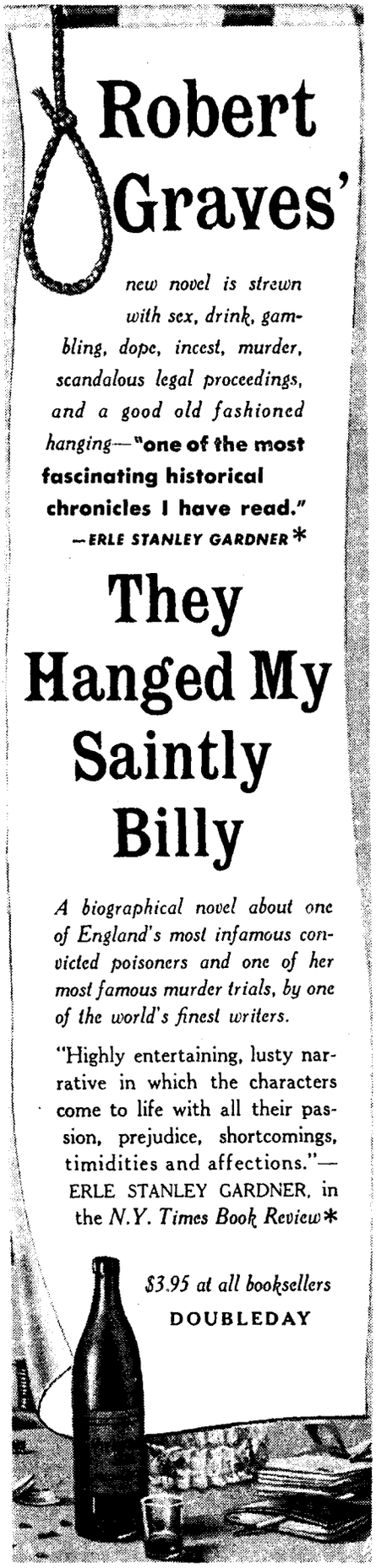
However, the really puzzling character in this whole company is the editor, Sidney Hook. Nor can I quite understand just how one of his broad, bawdy, and democratic disposition should be playing chaperone to the chaste and virginal spirits that inform the pages of this symposium. Unlike some of his more fastidious colleagues he is well acquainted with the writings and with the influence of a Niebuhr and a Tillich, and on several occasions, from the perspective of his own catholic naturalism, has expressed an appreciation of what these others are doing. If Niebuhr and Tillich are excluded from the symposium, then this reflects, I am sure, no narrowness of mind on the part of the editor, but rather the inescapable constraint of the conventions of the craft which he follows.

In other respects, however, it is obvious that Sidney Hook is an unreconstructed maverick who still practices philosophy in the grand tradition of John Dewey. And the two paragraphs preceding the last one of his introduction make plain his conviction that philosophers in general should be giving more attention to the larger issues of life. Besides a concern for logic and for metaphysics, he has shown that he can discuss scholasticism with a Roman Catholic or neo-orthodoxy with a Protestant, and he has expressed himself abundantly yet with precision on matters of law, politics, economics, ethics, and education. To be sure, these various performances of his have caused more than one raised eyebrow among the philosophical purists, who think that Hook drags his petticoat too much in the mire of merely human concerns. And if some of them express privately the belief that Sidney Hook ought to be cast into outer darkness in company with Niebuhr and Tillich, then the reason is not one in theology but a much graver reason in professional ethics.

NEVERTHELESS, when all these qualifications are granted, it must still be affirmed that American philosophy today displays three symptoms of an advanced pernicious anemia of the spirit:

1) The zeal for analysis. The regnant intellect is one that dissects and dessicates, that delights in piece-meal and picayune procedures. Thus does the philosophic mind today celebrate its sensitivity, its precision, and its unimportance. In this scientific scholasticism the smartest title to be earned is the same as that for the old theological scholasticism—*Cymini Sector*, "a carver or a divider of cummin seed."

2) The passion for purity. What we have is a new puritanism, of mind rather than of morals. The intellectual blue-nose is on the look-out for any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obscenity or extravagance in metaphysics which shall offend his austere and parsimonious standards. I still remember how hard it was to keep from bursting into laughter once when I was invited to lecture before a university audience, after I had already taken on the taint of the *odium theologicum*, and there advanced to the front row seats of the meeting-hall a little band of the elect, prim in demeanor and with pursed lips, which sat there during my discourse like members of some Watch and Ward Society, to take note of every wanton utterance, and in the discussion period to challenge it with the rigorous ideal of the chaste intellect. Only this new puritan calls himself, not a Christer, but a logical positivist.

3) Other-worldliness. As *Lucretius* demonstrated long ago, it is not necessary to be a supernaturalist in order to withdraw from this world. And if it is a question of the retreat from reality, then we must marvel at the secure haven of contemporary positivism—this *antiseptic* Eden, this disinfected Paradise, reeking of pharmaceuticals, having about it the unmistakable odor of the hospital clinic—where every one is solicitous for hygiene and hostile only to health. Here there presides the high priest of the spirit of philosophic funk who, warding off every allegedly meaningless question and meaningless proposition, has at last succeeded in deleting everything that by any ordinary experiential criterion has any meaning at all. And the devotees are mystically lost in an immense inanity of discourse in which no one really has anything to say because he can talk only about talking.

THE creative philosopher is one who brings into the forum some great gobs of experience not heretofore attended to by his colleagues. That experience, in Dewey's terms, may be of the *indirect* sort which comes from intimate involvement in some particular intellectual discipline, or it may be of the direct sort that comes from entanglement in some life situation. So in a Whitehead, a Russell, a Reichenbach, one senses the personal familiarity with the enterprises of physics and of mathematics, and in a John Dewey one senses the deep commitment to the affairs of democracy, of art, and of education. But when a philosophy which calls itself empiricism turns from the appeal to fact and to experience, and substitutes a formula for the reality, then its only recourse can be linguistic analysis, and its final outcome a degeneration into verbal magic.

The creative philosopher is also one who brings to his task a fresh perspective hitherto unperceived by the world. With this new perspective he re-orders the old data, reveals new data, cuts across and even shatters old frames of reference, and sets up new systems of coordinates which establish more heroic landmarks for the mind. But when philosophy abjures all perspectives whatsoever, then its vision fails as it retreats into the mole's hole of analysis. Indeed, from this subterranean region all above must be inevitably meaningless — all light and air, and life and laughter, and faith and hope and lust and love.

Now if any one should put to me the blunt *ad hominem* question, why do I still cherish a fellowship in the American Philosophical Association, I can answer only in a foreign tongue. For one thing, I find that philosophers, in spite of their philosophy, can still be warm-hearted and curious-minded human beings, with a tolerance and an inquisitiveness that thrust beyond the bounds of their orthodoxies. Also, one may hope that a younger generation will break the blinders off its eyes and learn to see and to look again, while even in an older generation there are still a few reckless spirits—like a Sidney Hook—who persist in their loyalty to the grand manner and the grand tradition. Also, in my faith it is permitted to believe in the bodily resurrection, to believe that these dry bones shall live again—even though it should require an earthquake and a great wind from heaven to restore them to some semblance of vitality.

Meanwhile the present cycle is finished. A philosophy which set out to abolish all meaningless questions and all meaningless propositions has succeeded only in reducing itself to meaninglessness. A philosophy which set out to kill off all superstition, all metaphysics, and all other wanderings of mind, has succeeded only in killing off philosophy.

Nabokov's Love Affairs

by R. W. Flint

THE second *Anchor Review*, a pocket-sized magazine-and-reprint-journal of high standards, mildly radical leanings and rare appearance, would be something to buy even without its 90-page excerpt from the notorious *Lolita*. But emasculated as it is, this first American edition of Vladimir Nabokov's novel is a major literary event, worth all the attention we can spare. Circulated over here in its Paris edition, it moved one critic to say that "it flames with a tremendous perversity of an unexpected kind . . . " and is " . . . just about the funniest book I remember having read"; another critic to describe its action as "remorseless, simple and inevitable, like a Greek tragedy; or else a mass of absurdities, coincidences and perverse exfoliations, like a Greek tragedy"; a third critic to decide that "*Lolita* is partly a masterpiece of grotesque comedy, partly an unsubdued wilderness where the wolf howls—a real wolf howling for a real Red Riding Hood."

Lolita (expurgated), by Vladimir Nabokov, in *The Anchor Review* (2). (Anchor Books; 95¢).

When Nabokov's first English novel, *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight*, appeared during the forties, Edmund Wilson wrote:

> If I say that Nabokov, who was educated in England . . . turns out to be a master of English prose—the most extraordinary phenomenon of the kind since Conrad—this is likely to sound incredible. If I say that Nabokov is something like Proust, something like Franz Kafka, and, probably, something like Gogol, I shall suggest an imitative patchwork, where Nabokov is as completely himself as any of these others—a man with a unique sensibility and a unique story to tell.

To complete my chorus of witnesses, here is Mr. Nabokov himself (from an amusing essay on *Lolita* included by Anchor):

After Olympia Press, in Paris, pub-

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lished the book, an American critic suggested that *Lolita* was the record of my love affair with the romantic novel. The substitution "English language" for "romantic novel" would make this elegant formula more correct. But here I feel my voice rising to too strident a pitch. None of my American friends have read my Russian books and thus every appraisal on the strength of my English ones is bound to be out of focus. My private tragedy, which cannot, and indeed should not, be anybody's concern, is that I had to abandon my natural idiom, my untrammeled, rich and infinitely docile Russian tongue for a second-rate brand of English, devoid of any of those apparatuses—the baffling mirror, the black velvet backdrop, the implied associations and traditions—which the native illusionist, frac-tails flying, can magically use to transcend the heritage in his own way.

This unwarranted fit of modesty on Mr. Nabokov's part at least gives us a special clue to the genius of his book. Since he could not develop *a* style of this imputed weight, he did the next best thing and forged a prose of spectacular vitality and full of surprises. His *Nicolai Gogol* (New Directions, 1944) is the best treatise on comedy I know of, and a kind of book, one must remember when comparing the two men, that Gogol could not conceivably have written himself. In a test with Gogol, Mr. Nabokov makes up in learned wit what he lacks in poetry or control. He is nothing if not intelligent; the parallel with Gogol has to be found behind yet another set of ironic baffles, in a really fiendish, lyric delight in the bottom absurdity of things. But the parallel need not be drawn too far; Nabokov warns against it. He presents Gogol, in fact, as a monster of self-delusion as well as one of the supreme masters of Russian fiction. But he also shows, in this model of critical biography, a standard of comedy (" . . . one likes to recall that the difference between the comic side of things, and their cosmic side, depends upon one sibilant . . . ") that springs to wonderful life in *Lolita*.

What makes the book "flame," I think, is first of all a love affair with the real America. ("Nothing is more exhilarating than philistine vulgarity. . . . I chose American motels instead of Swiss hotels or English inns only because I am trying to be an American writer and claim only the same rights that other American writers enjoy.") It is an America where language and event make a seamless web of wonders, terrors, revelations and portents. English, for Mr. Nabokov, is an instrument for the wildest and most mysteriously fitting shifts of tone, the most cheerfully extraverted, slang-relishing, literate verbal tomfoolery.

Since the Anchor *Lolita* is purged of its fleshier parts, since the author defends himself very ably, and since to dwell on the book's more lurid side is to connive with witlessness, I shall skip all this. Suffice it here to say that Lolita's chief actor, Humbert Humbert, a Swiss "salad of racial genes," is afflicted with about equal degrees of wit, ennui, taste and a hideously overt form of nympholepsy; the disease of Ruskin and Lewis Carroll given free and tender rein in a wilderness of American motels, suburbs and progressive institutions. *Lolita* is a burlesque of Freudianism that Freud would have had to enjoy. I can respect Fred Dupee's view, in his Anchor Preface to the book, that "there is frequently a disquieting note of unresolved tension"; but am inclined to think that the burlesque takes one more turn, at least, than we would expect of any previous example of the "confessional novel" or *"roman noir"* (Mr. Dupee's terms). All Mr. Nabakov has to confess, I think, is imagination enough to project the charms of a Phedre or Cleopatra into the skin of an odious suburban bobby-soxer. How perverse this is each reader must decide for himself; but few milder absurdities would have suited Mr. Nabokov's mad purposes so well.

A Harvest of O'Faolain

by James T. Farrell

SEAN O'FAOLAIN is now fifty-seven. He has been with us for a long time. As a biographer he is not as widely recognized as he deserves to be, and, for instance, you rarely run into persons who have read his unforgettable biography, *Constance Markievicz*. I read it in Dublin almost nineteen years ago but to this day, it remains vivid and alive in my memory. And his work on Daniel O'Connell, *King of the Beggars*, contains some passages which I consider to be among the finest penned by an Irishman in the whole post-Joycean period of Irish literature.

Unlike so many of his contemporaries, he has remained in Ireland and continued to write. This is most difficult and Eire's literary men have been, almost all of them, wild geese. Not only economically, but socially and morally, the lot of the Irish writer who remains at home is a pretty hard one; it is easy for his thoughts and feelings to become distorted by anger and bitterness. This has not happened to O'Faolain. Besides the skill, the insight, the fine style which he brings to his work, you recognize on reading and re-reading him that his perspective is balanced. He has an eye for the comic as well as the sad, a good ear for Anglo-Irish speech, and the heart to feel with his characters.

The Finest Stories of Sean O'Faolain
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consist of 30 tales selected by the author. They range from stories written in his twenties to the most recent ones. He has refused to rewrite some of the earlier pieces—although they are studded with purple patches—because these reveal a part of what he was. A romantic feeling for the countryside and the atmosphere, dawn and twilight, the disillusionment which a sensitive Irishman felt after the Black and Tan war and "the troubles," the simple and often so amusing people of Ireland—these are among the ingredients of his work. Especially, it should be noted, O'Faolain writes of love with extraordinary taste and a grasp of the range of feelings which men and women possess for one another.

Like Yeats, Sean O'Faolain improves with age. He is saturated with a sense of Ireland, but he is not parochial. He is a literary man of the world whose stories reveal the true dignity and the reality of some of his people. In this age of literary deadness and pretense, the re-publication of these stories of Sean O'Faolain takes on the character of a literary event. The word "finest" is not at all misplaced in the title of this book. These are some of the *finest* stories written in English during the last quarter century.

A Novelist Looks at History

by Stanley Elkins

THE European novelist whose tastes have grown too diverse for the novel alone, usually turns to philosophy or perhaps religion; his American counterpart, on the other hand, seems to prefer history. John Dos Passos' recent book, *The Men Who Made the Nation,* follows this pattern. It is the story of the first turbulent decades of our national history from the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown to the early years of the Jefferson administration.

Dos Passos' experience as a novelist is not wasted in his new role. He tells the story of this intricate and fascinating period by tracing the lives and careers of a large cast of characters—in this case the Founding Fathers themselves. The technique, lifted bodily from his trilogies, is surprisingly well adapted to history. The change from fiction to history, however, poses problems more basic than those of style or technique. The author is forced to adjust to new and often confining standards. His characters, for example, are given; but woe to the author who lets his imagination get out of hand in the process. In similar fashion, the raw material for his story must be drawn from the letters, diaries, and papers that happen to be available — for, like the sculptor, the novelist-turned-historian may give shape to his material, but he can neither create it or escape it.

The Men Who Made the Nation, by John Dos Passos (Doubleday; $5.95).

At the same time, these limitations have certain inherent advantages. The available letters and papers — the "sources," as the historian calls them— not only help to set the boundaries of the problem, they serve to focus the author's attention. Dos Passos takes ample advantage of the opportunities that his sources offer. The people, the language, the scenes, and the very taste of life in the 1790's are recreated with a vivid realism; we see the men who founded our nation much as their contemporaries must have seen them. The effect is so striking that one cannot help noting how much better Dos Passos is at recreating historical characters than he was at creating literary ones.

Old papers, however, no matter how rich they may be in information and ideas, are not in themselves history. The historian, like the novelist, cannot avoid the responsibility of arranging experience, of giving his material dramatic form—and thereby, meaning. The story, in short, must have its *plot.* Oddly enough, Dos Passos, who can fill in the details in lively and convincing fashion, has difficulty providing the framework. Once past the Constitution, and faced with the subtleties of Federalist and Jeffersonian politics, the story that Dos Passos elects to tell is, for all its flash and color, the same familiar one Parrington told a generation ago. This may at first glance seem a paradox, considering the fluctuations in Mr. Dos Passos' political sentiments over the last three decades or so. But there it all is, with the struggle between Jefferson and Hamilton as its central theme: the one representing the simple Republican virtues of rural America, and the other the pretensions of "the merchants and bankers . . . who had begun to think of themselves as the rich and wellborn, ordained by God to top the social pyramid."

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Notes on Contributors

ROBERT E. FITCH is Dean of the Pacific School of Religion. His newest book, *The Decline and Fall of Sex,* grew out of his hotly debated essay, *La Mystique de la Merde* (*NR,* September 3, 1956). R. W. FLINT has held the *Partisan Review* fellowship in criticism. STANLEY ELKINS is on the History faculty of the University of Chicago. JAMES T. FARRELL is the author of *Studs Lonigan* and many other novels. ISA KAPP is a frequent contributor to the literary journals.

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riod, Dos Passos' book is the perfect substitute. What makes them similar, and what unifies all of Dos Passos' books, despite the apparent "ideological" shifts (not really very profound shifts when you think of it), is their use of "conspiracy" as a synonym for "reality."

Dos Passos is impressed by the ability and character of the Founding Fathers, he has an occasional good word to say even for Hamilton and his banker cohorts, but he cannot quite free himself from the conviction that "reality" in history, as in his novels, is somehow connected with hidden plots and sinister struggles for power and influence. The schemes and manipulations in *The Men Who Made the Nation* are infinitely less evil than those of the tycoons of *U.S.A.* or the Moscow-oriented New Dealers of *District of Columbia,* but they are there again, as always, and serve to make a very readable book something less than first-class history.

The Little World of Philip Wylie

by Donald Malcolm

TOURING the world with Philip Wylie isn't much fun. Mr. Wylie drags his reader through 150 miles of scorching Indian countryside to look at the Taj Mahal, seats him on a bench that commands an excellent view, and then points to—the tears that course unashamedly down his own cheeks. Neatly frustrating the reader's every attempt to see the Taj itself, he intones:

> Here in the medium of precious stone and marble, the medium of an utmost human skill which clothed the body of alabastrine rock with a rock lace, a man said in the whole of his best idiom: *Woman.*

The Innocent Ambassadors by Philip Wylie (Rinehart; $4.95).

The whole trip is rather like that. In Japan, for instance, we encounter a really interesting native, one who has the sensitivity to appreciate Mr. Wylie's finer points: "How do you — an American—quote Shinto-Denji?" For Mr. Wylie, we gather, it's easy. And no tourist intent on meeting the "real" Japanese can afford to miss the restaurateur who has "never seen a Westerner use chopsticks so well" as Mr. Wylie. But come! we have a whole world to tour and cannot dally forever among Mr. Wylie's admirers in Japan. Onward, then, to India, the hope of free Asia . . . magic India . . .

A fan club? In *Calcutta*! For me?

Yes, Mr. Wylie, for *you*. It is no more than you deserve. For who else could have spoken about the Autherine Lucy affair with such brilliance that a hostile Indian should burst into tears and exclaim:

> "Lord, I *do* see! I never thought of it that way. Mr. Wylie—you have greatly illuminated the darkness of my mind." . . . His face lit up with joy. "I expected greatness of you!"

Another Indian, one "close to the Prime Minister," was so deeply impressed by the author's exposition of the American point of view that he detained his cab to implore:

> "I don't suppose you *could* stay in India? A man like you, lecturing at Delhi University . . . ? We'd pay your expenses gladly! *Anything*!"

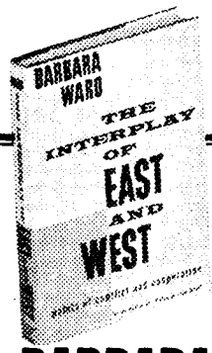
Alas for India, Mr. Wylie must go. Others have need of him. Dr. Charles Malik, for instance, who encountered our author at a party in Beirut:

> "Mr. Wylie," he said gravely, "there's one thing I forever struggle vainly to ascertain: the basic policy of the West. What is it?"

Mr. Wylie did not, at first, intend to publish his reply, because he didn't think it measured up to his usual intellectual standards. But then a friend set him straight.

> "Man, don't you know Malik has been quoting you—and explaining what you explained to him—all up and down the Arab world ever since that night? You *really* showed the guy something he hadn't understood. He thinks you're one bright American! *Write it.*"

So Mr. Wylie wrote it. Apparently then, Dr. Malik has been going up and down the Arab world spreading the word that America does not always agree with the nations of western Europe on matters of foreign policy. As far as I can find out, no Arab leader has fainted on hearing the news.



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TELEVISION

Mike Wallace Grills his Guests

ANYONE who has been uneasy about the pandering tone of television, as well as its polite, soft, uncontroversial treatment of ideas, will see a good deal of value in the Mike Wallace interview program, which has been on a national network (ABC) since April 28. In the past weeks, Wallace has talked with Gloria Swanson, the Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, author Philip Wylie, ex-racketeer Mickey Cohen, Senator Wayne Morse and Earl Browder. Except for an occasional curt "sir" which lends him the firm air of refusing to be taken in by the reputations of his guests, Wallace wastes no time on amenities. He gets straight to some political or moral point, and makes his subjects account for inconsistencies in their opinions and behavior, so that each half hour turns into a compact judgement of an individual's life.

Most of us like to think that public figures are vulnerable and owe us some explanation of themselves. We feel edgy when luminaries from the world of politics, entertainment, and the arts are cajoled—as on Ed Murrow's program, *Person to Person*—into putting their most civilized foot forward. When Murrow interviewed Gypsy Rose Lee, for example, he managed to bypass her vocation and spotlight her in the role of a mother, overcome by her son's erudition. In one way or another, the quality of each Murrow guest is buried under his decorous bonds to family, rooms or art objects. After such trappings, we are relieved by the Spartan conditions of the Mike Wallace program, where guests are alone in the glare of their own thoughts and Mr. Wallace's often damaging questions.

In the Philip Wylie interview, Wallace pointed out that Wylie had never been a Fascist, Communist or member of any church. "So in a sense," he interpolated rather hurriedly, "You have played it safe," and went on to say that we knew the things that Wylie was against and wanted to know who or what he was *for*. Though murmuring that there were thousands of people he admired, Wylie was at something of a loss for specific heroes (except for Christian Herter), and Wallace had somehow managed to convey the vague, boastful nature of Wylie's intellect. To Gloria Swanson, he delivered the bruising information that Francis X. Bushman, a silent film star, regarded her appeal as limited to the drawing room, while Marilyn Monroe's was universal. Mickey Cohen was asked whether he really expected to die in bed. Wayne Morse was forced to listen to a quote from the conservative columnist Raymond Moley about the "utter sterility" of his congressional career.

The program, while bent on exploring the most serious issues of the day, is full of such spicy flecks of sadism, and often makes gratuitous appeals to our worst impulses. Counting on our squeamishness about neurosis, Wallace accused Philip Wylie of having been psychoanalyzed "not once but twice!" Of Mickey Cohen he inquired how he, a Jew, had come to discuss spiritual matters with evangelist Billy Graham, a question that simultaneously touched sore points in Jewish pride and general xenophobia. He several times asked if Cohen was not tempted to go back to crime, appealing to our cynical conviction that leopards can't change their spots, yet at the same time intimating that Cohen's "reform" had more than a legalistic significance. At any rate, the reformed Mickey Cohen was moved to make some indignant allusions to corruption in the Los Angeles City government; and the next week the TV audience was treated to the incongruous sight of an ABC vice-president, Wallace himself and even, by proxy, the sponsors, humbly eating Cohen's possibly libelous words. The real irony is that if Cohen did at some moments resemble a speculative man working his way through to fine moral distinctions (he killed men but never touched prostitution), it was only because Wallace, by his constant baiting and dancing about on the edge of spectacular exposures, at some moments resembled a hunter in for the kill.

Perhaps Wallace is convinced that his audience needs some diversion from the strenuous intellectual exercise to which he submits them each Sunday night. The creators of our popular culture seldom believe we can take anything straight. Though Mike Wallace is on television to discuss subjects that greatly concern us — desegregation, Communism, religion, psychoanalysis—he is at pains to prove to us that he is far from bookish. Photographed in stark lighting, with muscular cheeks, cigarette in hand, and a disabused manner, he comes to us reassuringly like Hollywood's familiar hardboiled private eye or reporter who will "get the story" even if he has to take a beating for it.

BUT does he always "get the story"? On June 2, he interviewed Earl Browder, who headed the Communist party during its crucial years, 1930-45. Though he seemed personally incensed at Browder's political record, he never asked whether Browder had any second thoughts about forced collectivization, the Moscow trials, or the taking over of the Baltic countries by the Soviet Union. In fact, at several points Browder, who is no great shakes as a debater, seemed to have the polemical advantage. Instead of arguing in headline terms and worrying about the trivial point of Browder's receiving a government pension, instead of relying on charged phrases like his description of Mickey Cohen's turning "his trigger finger into a green thumb," Mr. Wallace needs to settle down to some hard, ordinary schoolboy labor.

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Correspondence

(Continued from page 3)

gressmen. I should like to make my own position clear.

First of all, Members of Congress inevitably face frustrations, some perhaps induced by imperfect relationships with the Executive Branch. However, if there has been faulty liaison which leaves Junior Republicans feeling "out of things," this can be attributed largely to the existing Republican organization on Capitol Hill. Surely the President is not "unrealistic" for refusing to bypass the Republican leadership in Congress which we Republicans have ourselves established.

During the past few months a number of rank-and-file Republicans admittedly have felt somewhat isolated, particularly with respect to the Administration's position on the 1958 budget. The President has been deeply immersed in critically important world problems —the crisis in Suez, unrest in the satellites, and the deadlock with the Soviet Union. Perhaps, because of his preoccupation with these matters, he at first took the "rightness" of his budget requests too much for granted. His subordinates further confused the issue by implying that substantial cuts might be made in Administration requests.

However, to admit that this has been the case is far different from contending that the President's problems with the Congress have stemmed from a chronic "inability" to provide Republicans with the necessary leadership. As a matter of fact, as international pressures have eased Mr. Eisenhower has taken an increasingly active part in carrying his fight to Congress, and to the people.

The President recently lunched with House Republicans on Capitol Hill. While there he both listened and talked, and before leaving announced he would soon hold a series of buffet breakfasts with Republicans, at which there could be a further airing of views. While the President recognizes the necessity of not bypassing the Congressional leaders, he has decided that more frequent personal contacts will be beneficial. In recent weeks there have been definite indications that more Members of Congress are receiving personal telephone calls and letters from the President. He has made it clear that he definitely distinguishes between those Republicans who support him and those who do not.

Support for the President's program, despite Democratic assertions to the contrary, will continue to come largely from Republicans. The President has many devoted followers in Congress. More and more of them will, I believe, be making their views heard in the weeks ahead. Naturally we welcome whatever Democratic support we can get. Although we have our intra-party differences, we Republicans are reasonably united on our basic objective. The same cannot be said of the Democrats. Their North-South split is fundamental, and may yet be fatal.

The bald fact is that President Eisenhower's "trouble" with Congress stems, to no small extent, from the fact that both the House and Senate are controlled by Democrats. The undesirable consequences of such a division of governmental control are becoming increasingly obvious. The only major Presidential recommendations thus far enacted into law are the Middle East Doctrine, and the extension of corporate and excise taxes. Very little else has been accomplished despite an extensive legislative program.

No matter how the problem is viewed, one cannot escape the fact that this Congress is controlled by the Democratic Party. If one believes in the principle of holding a party responsible for its actions, it seems clear that it is the Democratic Party in Congress which will have to take primary blame should this session of Congress produce a poor record. Mr. Udall might well ask himself if it is mere coincidence that it is Democrats who head the Committees which have held up so much of the President's program.

I believe the last weeks of this session will show the great majority of Republicans rallying behind President Eisenhower. The question is, when the real showdown comes on which side will most Democrats be found? Will they continue simply to seek political advantage, exploiting, for example, the economy issue for partisan reasons? Or will they practice what they now preach and support the President and his program?

PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.
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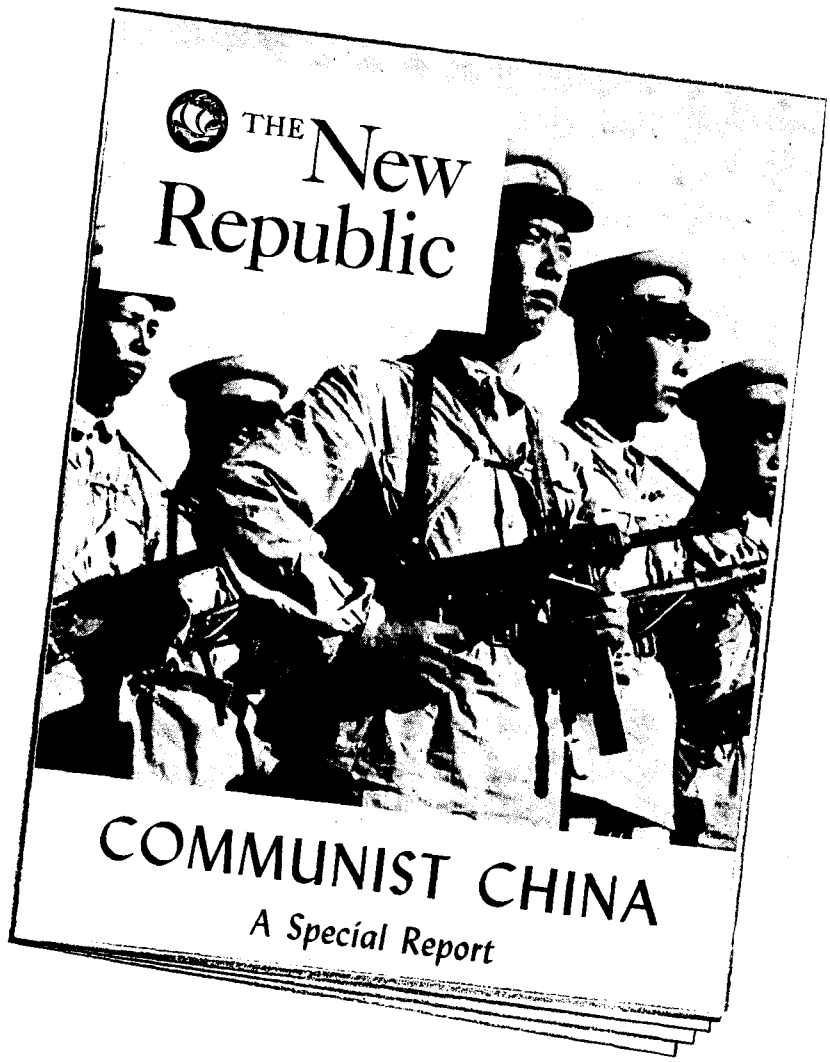

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